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THE MONIST

MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE AND ITS DIFFUSION IN EUROPE.¹

ANY ONE who in investigating European origins finds himself in that epoch which the French ethnologists with DeMortillet have called the Madeleine, an epoch which may be considered as the latest period of Paleolithic Europe, will be astonished to find artistic productions wonderful in their conception and in their technical execution. The cave bear of Massat near Toulouse, the mammoth of Madeleine, the reindeer of the cave of Thayingen near Lake Constance, the horses, the human figures, the buffaloes, and other animals sculptured in bone or in horn, and found plentifully in Dordogne, and finally the bas-reliefs of Brassempouy and of Mas-d'-Azil, recently discovered by Piette, all reveal the high character of the art of this ancient epoch so far removed from modern civilisation.²

According to an opinion which I have expressed elsewhere,³ these prehistoric artists having the artistic sentiment so highly developed were the precursors of the historical artists who created the marvellous works of Egypt, of Greece, and of Rome. If it is true, as I think I have shown, that a stock coming from Africa was

¹ Translated from the manuscript of Prof. Giuseppe Sergi, of the University of Rome, Italy, by I. W. Howerth, Ph. D., University of Chicago.

² Cf. Wilson, *Prehistoric Art, or the Origin of Art as Manifested in the Works of Pre-historic Man*. Report of U. S. National Museum for 1896. Washington, 1898. In this volume all the discoveries of prehistoric Europe and America are brought together and presented in clear and beautiful figures.

³ *Arii e Italici*, Turin, 1898.

diffused in the quaternary epoch throughout the whole Mediterranean basin and over Europe, even to the northern part; and if it is true that this stock, which we have classified as the Eurafrican species, continued its existence into the Neolithic epoch, and afterwards into the successive ages of metals, it is to this stock that we must attribute this artistic manifestation which later was to assume such wonderful forms, and to arrive finally at the summit of the classic arts of the Mediterranean. This idea was first suggested to me by the constant convergence of the physical characters of the primitive inhabitants of these regions, and the unity of the stock is confirmed by the persistency of the artistic tendency through such distant epochs.

The Neolithic age presents a singular uniformity from prehistoric Egypt to Scandinavia, from the British Islands to the Black Sea, and throughout the Mediterranean basin. This uniformity may be observed principally in the forms and ornaments of the ceramic art, and in the working of stone. It is presented also in that curious form of burying the dead grouped together and in a cramped position, except in a few cases, and in the cave sepulchres with rooms more or less artistic, of which I have spoken elsewhere. Such a uniformity suggests and confirms the anthropological unity of the various populations, which must have carried their customs and their arts along with them. This Neolithic age so uniform in its manifestations corrects in part the discontinuity of the Magdalenian, for, at least down to the present, the manifestations of this period are not so continuous or so extended as those of the Neolithic. It is natural, therefore, to suppose that in the quaternary period the population was not yet so numerous as in the Neolithic, or so diffused. Nor could it have yet developed in some localities the artistic tendency which is seen so advanced in others.

Of this epoch, so important in the history of humanity and especially in the history of the Eurafrican species, the most advanced of which is the Mediterranean, we have many interesting evidences in prehistoric Egypt and in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin, in both of which places a very archaic and indigenous civilisation appeared.

The discoveries of Petrie, of Amélineau, and of DeMorgan show that prehistoric Egypt was not influenced by an Oriental civilisation. The real question is in regard to the civilisation called Egyptian *par excellence* or Pharaonic, which these authors and others believe to have been Asiatic in origin.

I have spoken elsewhere of this matter and concluded that the historical Egyptian civilisation is a continuation and an evolution of the prehistoric, and that there is no necessity of admitting that there was an Asiatic immigration. To be sure, all relations with Asia cannot have been excluded, on account of the proximity of Egypt to that region. The prehistoric Egyptian civilisation is purely Libyan, and in comparison with its contemporary European civilisation it was highly developed, as may be seen by its artistic products and by its exquisitely worked flints.

If we call to mind the facts revealed in Cyprus, my opinions concerning the origin of the Mediterranean civilisation will be found to be in large part confirmed. Ohnefalsch-Richter showed by new explorations in that island how ancient its civilisation was, that it was anterior to all Asiatic influence, as it was also anterior to the same periods of Hissarlik. Relations between the valley of the Nile and Cyprus have been affirmed, and there was indeed a civilisation common to them in prehistoric times and an exchange of products. This civilisation was not Asiatic but very ancient and autochthonous and may be called Afro-Mediterranean.¹

The Asiatic influence came afterwards, perhaps after some thousands of years, if the first period of Cyprus is, according to Ohnefalsch himself, anterior to the last stratum of Hissarlik, which stratum, as it appears to me, ought not to be considered as Asiatic, although traced in the Troad, but Mediterranean. It is exempt from Mesopotamic and Hittite influences, and is, like the primitive Mediterranean civilisation and that of Cyprus especially, and this is what induced Ohnefalsch and Myres to consider it a Cyprian invasion.²

¹ Cf. Ohnefalsch, *Neues über die Ausgrabungen auf Cypern*. Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft, 1899.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 39-353, note 1.

It appears to me also that, as in the lower part of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean in Libyan Egypt, in the western regions of Asia Minor, also in the western Mediterranean and in Europe and the north of the great basin, the civilisation unfolding itself as Neolithic and then as Eneolithic, and with copper together with polished stone, was autochthonous and without eastern Asiatic influences. I think there may here be seen a unity, as in the Eur-African species, not, however, without some differences of development and of form which appeared in different regions on account of biological as well as regional causes. In Sicily Orsi has discovered evidence of a primitive civilisation analogous to that of the most ancient strata of Cyprus and Hissarlik, and it seems to me that in spite of analogies something has been found peculiar to that island, an independent production with its own peculiar characters. But there soon appeared in this island an Oriental importation followed by imitation.

I have been able to prove by means of observations upon the skulls found in the first or Eneolithic Sicilian period of Orsi, that there was in that remote epoch an eastern current setting toward the west and especially into Sicily, for in the midst of Mediterranean cranial forms I have found foreign forms which I judge to be Asiatic in origin, especially from the region of the Caucasus and Armenia.¹

But while the presence of Asiatic heads in the western part of the Mediterranean basin proves its relations with the Orient, it does not contradict what I have said in regard to the purely Afro-Mediterranean civilisation being autochthonous. These foreign heads show only the tendency of the various populations towards the commercial centers, and hence an emigration to and the mixing with those who dominated in commerce. This is how I interpret the presence of foreign elements, especially Causasian and Armenian, in the Occident in so ancient an epoch, without any influence of civilisation, as is seen by the objects found, of which some are local products, others imported as articles of commerce.

¹ "Cranii preistorici della Sicilia." *Atti. Soc. Romana di Antropologia* Vol. VI. 1899.

But that which must have transformed the whole physiognomy and developed the latent germs of Mediterranean civilisation was the invention of the metallic arts, copper and bronze. While from the discoveries in Egypt it seems that bronze was known there relatively late, it is noteworthy that Cyprus learned the use of copper at a very remote epoch. It appears at a period anterior to the latest stratum of Hissarlik. Ohnefalsch puts almost in doubt the existence of an age of stone in Cyprus, on account of the small number of objects hitherto found in the island.¹ Myres also believes that "the stone age is apparently not represented in Cyprus as a distinct period of long duration,"² while copper and bronze are found in abundance. I had already written in 1895 that "the origin of the use of metals in the Mediterranean region may be found in Cyprus, the island of copper. From that point its use was diffused through other Mediterranean regions and about the Black Sea, and thence probably by the Danube into Hungary."³ To-day this fact, that is the fact that Cyprus may have been the center of irradiation of copper and then of bronze through the Mediterranean region and through Europe, seems confirmed by the new discoveries and by the two explorers, Ohnefalsch and Myers, who have determined the contemporaneity, in part at least, of the age of copper in Cyprus and the Neolithic age, delayed in other regions. It seems to be demonstrated that the primitive types of axes and other objects came from that island, and were diffused through the Mediterranean region and through Europe.⁴

Upon the civilisation which I have called Afro-Mediterranean, and which might even better be called Afro-European, an autochthonous civilisation followed the Asiatic influences more or less strong down to the epoch of a new type of civilisation characterised by the arts and by the architecture of the city and the acropolis, the so-called Mycenæan or Ægean civilisation.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pages 32 and 300.

² "Copper and Bronze in Cyprus and in Southeast Europe." *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, Nov., 1897.

³ *Origine e Diffusione della stirpe Mediterranea*, p. 104-105. Rome, 1895.

⁴ Cf. *Op. cit.*, of Ohnefalsch and Myers.

To notice the Oriental characteristics in the Mycenæan art it is sufficient to observe the gold model of a temple found in the fourth sepulcher of Mycenæ, the representation of a siege on a vase of silver, which reminds one of similar if not identical representations in Nineveh and Babylon, the lion hunt represented on a plate of bronze, some steles bearing in relief a car drawn by a horse, many engravings on gems and many other works in both gold and silver.¹

In view of this, it is astonishing to me to read in Flinders Petrie, one of the best informed of the writers on Oriental Mediterranean antiquity, that "the whole of the early civilisation of the Peloponnesus, commonly now known as the Mycenæan period, is a branch of the civilisation of the bronze age in Europe, with but little contact with the East. Gaul, Hungary, Italy, Greece, and Libya all enjoyed a simultaneous civilisation which brought these countries far more into contact with one another than with the Asiatic lands which played so great a part in the later Greece culture."²

Nor have the arguments of Tsountas upon the supposed northern origin of the Mycenæans any value. Two of these arguments, moreover, have been sufficiently answered by Dörpfeld. I need only say that they refer to the forms of the roofs in the Mycenæan houses which Tsountas supposed were gabled, and to the lowness of the houses, which reminds one of the pile dwellings. Both of these forms of construction Tsountas believed to be peculiar to northern countries. Nor is the comparison with the Terramare of the valley of the Po, according to the interpretation of Pigorini, worth anything. It is even more fallacious and erroneous, as I have shown conclusively in another place.³

¹ Cf. Schliemann, *Mykenae*. London, 1888. Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenæan Age*, London, 1887. Halbherr and Orsi, *Antichità dell' antro di Zeus Ideo*. Florence, 1888.

² "The Egyptian Basis of Greek History." *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. XI. 1890.

³ Tsountas and Manatt, *Op. cit.*, pp. XXVI, XXIX, and XXX, 326; Chapters 4, 6, and 14. Sergi, *Arii e Italici, cit.*, Chap. 2.

Nor does it seem to me that the opinion of Reinach, expounded so brilliantly in his so-called *Oriental Mirage*,¹ merits discussion. I gave it some attention elsewhere,² but now I may pass it by because it has found no followers, nor could it have found them, being contrary to the nature of the facts, the characters of which are very evident.

According to Montelius the Mycenæans were the Tyrrhenians or Pelasgians of Asia Minor, for he writes, "It is evident that the Mycenæan civilisation in Greece is due not only to influences of another country but to the immigration of a new people. That these people, or at least a great majority of the immigrants, came from Asia Minor is proved by the important fact, which, however, has not been sufficiently noticed, that the Mycenæan tombs are of the same kind as those common in Asia Minor. . . . The lions on the famous gate of Mycenæ, and numerous other objects, point also in the direction of Asia Minor, because similar remains have been discovered there, but do not exist in Phœnicia or Egypt."³ As I have recorded above, Montelius himself admits that the Tyrrhenians coming into Italy, or the Etruscans, were only a part of the Pelasgian emigrants from Greece united with other kindred peoples of Asia Minor.

According to Ohnefalsch, Arcadians, Achæans, Laconians, Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, and Lycians must all have concurred in the formation of the Mycenæan civilisation.⁴ I shall not say that this may not have been true, but I will say that it is only hypothetical. It is quite possible and also natural to suppose that many ethnical elements concurred in the formation and expansion of the Mycenæan civilisation. But it is difficult to determine these elements with precision and give them their national names. However this may be, all these ethnical elements belong to the Mediterranean stock, as portions of it located in different regions and with differ-

¹ *L'Anthropologie*. Paris, 1893.

² *Origine e diffusione delle stirpe mediterranea*, cit.

³ "The Tyrrhenians in Greece and Italy." *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*. Vol. XXVI. 1897.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 356-365.

ent names. And, according to my conviction they belong to that Pelasgian branch of the Eurafrican species of which I have spoken, because this ethnical branch occupied from prehistoric times the eastern part of the basin comprehending Asia Minor, the Ægean sea and the Greek peninsula, as I have shown in another place.

It is quite possible, then, that the Oriental importers of the Mycenæan civilisation might have been the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, as Montelius supposes, united with other kindred peoples who have not received ethnological names. According to what I have already said, the Asiatic Pelasgian or Pelasgo-Tyrrhenian emigrants were not foreign anthropologically to the Mediterranean stock, and hence not even to the primitive inhabitants of the Ægean islands and of the Peloponnesus, who were also Pelasgian. These had already a pre-Mycenæan civilisation in common with the Mediterranean or the Afro-Mediterranean, and they received from new emigrants new elements of the Pelasgian civilisation transformed and evolved under Asiatic influences, probably Mesopotamian.

From this we may observe a very important fact, namely, that this civilisation which is called Mycenæan preserves in the Ægean civilisation many of its Oriental characters, and thus makes plain its immediate derivation. But when it was diffused through the west and north, in the Mediterranean region and in continental Europe, it began to lose many of these characteristics, and acquired others which were peculiar to the populations into which it entered. The Oriental character diminished in proportion to the distance from the center of propagation. When the Mycenæan civilisation was diffused through Italy and Spain its Orientality was still more attenuated, and the same was true when it was diffused through central and northern Europe.

This is quite natural, because every people welcomes germs of civilisation from other regions, but evolves them or imitates their art according to its own disposition and anterior conditions, and gives its own stamp to the imported product. Many forms of artistic motives are preserved in such a transmigration of the civil arts but they have no longer their original character.

Sicily offers a striking example of what I have just said. The

Mycenæan civilisation penetrated it, as Orsi has clearly shown, and a superficial observation of vases, bronzes, and other objects from the first Sicilian period shows the Mycenæan characteristics in many respects. These, however, represent only a part of the whole Sicilian production, which has a local and quite special character, and may not be confounded with the typical Mycenæan, or with any other whatever. There existed in Sicily a local regional production to which was added the Mycenæan importation which was imitated more or less closely. But this is all that may be observed in Sicily. No shadow of the artistic wealth which is admired at Mycenæ, at Tiryns, at Crete, and wherever the Mycenæan culture appeared, exists in Sicily. There seems to be only the twilight of the great Ægean civilisation. This is due to the lack of metals or to some other cause.

But a fact at first sight surprising is the presence of objects of a Mycenæan character in the first Sicilian period, that is the Eneolithic. I recall the two flat stones

which serve as enclosures for tombs. They have spiral ornaments, but are rough and similar to and of the same type as others found at Mycenæ (Fig. 1).¹ There are other objects either imported or imitated. This is surprising because the Mediterranean Eneolithic is much more ancient than



Fig. 1.

Tombstone of the Necropolis of Castelluccio
(Syracuse, Sicily).

¹ See Schliemann, *Mykenae*, figures 145-159. Orsi, "La necropoli di Castelluccio." *Bull. Paletn. Ital.*, XVII., p. 93 and elsewhere; table 6.

the Mycenæan epoch, and I find no other explanation than that in Sicily the Eneolithic age lasted longer, and until the first Mycenæan influence which arrived a little later.

It is in the second Sicilian period, with its beautiful swords of bronze and the characteristic clasps, that the most decided Mycenæan influence is found. So it seems to me that that period, called by Orsi the second Sicilian period, is really the period in which evidences of the Mycenæan civilisation are most plentiful, although productions with a Sicilian character are not diminished, as is clearly visible in the ceramic products, although, as Orsi shows, even these present different characters in the two periods.¹

These ideas came into my mind during a recent visit to the Archæological Museum of Syracuse in which I read them as from a book in the disposition of its contents and the wonderful order given by the director, Professor Orsi, and by means of his exposition. I have only to thank him for his courtesy, and for the help which I received from him.

But where the Mycenæan culture had its Occidental expansion was, it seems to me, in Italy and in the Iberian peninsula. While there arose in the southern part of the Italian peninsula a civilisation analogous to the Sicilian,² in the central part from Latium to Etruria, and in Umbria to the valley of the Po, especially in the region of Bologna, there is found evidence of a culture which has given rise to various interpretations of its origin.

There, as I have shown elsewhere,³ may be found three types of culture. In the first place, there is the primitive and very ancient culture, the Neolithic and the Eneolithic, or the Afro-Mediterranean, conscientiously and accurately studied by Colini.⁴ Then, there is a second, which may be divided into two periods, the pe-

¹ "La necropoli di Licodia Eubea," *Bull. dell' imper. Istituto Germanico*. Vol. XIII., p. 347 et seq. Rome, 1898.

² See Patroni, *Un Villaggio siculo presso Matera nell' antica Apulia*. Rome, 1898. Monumenti Antichi Pubblicati dall' Accad. dei Lincei.

³ *Arii e Italici*, cit.

⁴ *Il sepolcreto di Remedello nel Bresciano e il periodo eneolitico in Italia*, Part I., Parma, 1899. Bull. Paletn. Ital.

riod of pure bronze and the first age of iron; and, finally, there is a third which may be regarded as particularly Etruscan.

In the first case the funeral custom was inhumation in natural or artificial caves, or these wanting, the burial of corpses doubled up, as may be observed in Sicily and elsewhere in the Mediterranean region. Here the culture was the indigenous Mediterranean, without any eastern Asiatic influence but with the influence of the culture of the eastern Mediterranean region, since copper could be imported only from Cyprus.

In the second case, which reunites the culture of the metals, bronze, and iron at its first appearance, is found the funeral custom of incineration which I have admitted, and still admit, to be of Aryan origin, since it is found in all the valley of the Po in the epoch of the Terremare, in the age of bronze and in the well-tombs of Villanova, of Certosa, of Bologna, of Etruria, and in parts of Latium. But the culture of either bronze purely, or of bronze with the first indications of iron, like that which is found at Villanova and at Vetulonia, was already an Oriental Mediterranean importation with the influences of the Asiatic culture which had become Mycenæan.

The third form of culture, or the Etruscan, was substantially the same as the second. But while the second was more ancient and had already undergone a transformation, as I have just pointed out, losing in part its Asiatic color so clearly preserved in the Mycenæan civilisation of the Ægean, the third, which is a direct Etruscan or Tyrrhenian importation, preserves more than the other its Orientality, although less of the original Mycenæan or Asiatic influence. The explanation of this may be found in the fact that while in Adriatic Umbria we know of Pelasgian colonies only by tradition, and hence their culture must have been imported as a commercial product which was imitated in Etruria, there was certainly an Oriental colony which preserved many of the characteristics of the original culture. And while in the civilisation anterior to the Etruscan period the funeral practice of incineration was the dominant one, because the material power was Aryan, while the culture was Mycenæan in origin, in the Etruscan period the Aryan

dominion was overthrown and the Etruscan substituted over a great part of Italy both to the south and to the north of Etruria. Hence there is found the restitution of the ancient custom of inhumation, a custom peculiar to the Mediterranean stock.

Certainly one of the difficulties of the archæologists in recognising the Oriental origin of the Etruscan and Villanovan civilisations is in the loss or diminution of its Oriental characters in its passage to the Occident, where new centers of regional culture were formed. These naturally began with the imitation of the culture imported.

This phenomenon may be observed elsewhere, that is in central and northern Europe, as I will show further on, where the distance is greater because the importation was indirect and came from southern regions.

But the marks are so evident that Pigorini himself, who persisted in finding in the Terremare an Italico-Aryan people and a culture from the north, has had to recognise the relations between these old stations and the Ægean sea, although he considers these relations to have been late and a phenomenon of the superposition of the Mycenæan culture upon the more ancient culture of the Terremare, which had another origin.¹ This is contrary to Orsi and Petersen, who admit that there were more intimate relations between the Ægean culture and the Italian culture of the Terremare and of Villanova.²

It has been difficult to recognise this fact in the culture of the first age of iron in Italy, and still more difficult to recognise the analogy, and in some cases even the identity, of the bronze products found in Terremare with the Mycenæan. It is so difficult that even to-day it is in part or altogether denied. But after a careful examination, especially in the works of Montelius, of the articles found, and after a comparison, presented also by Orsi, I believe that it should no longer be doubted.

Probably, as I have said elsewhere, the introduction into upper

¹ *Bull. Paletn. Italiana*, Vol. XX., p. 173; XXIII., p. 86.

² Petersen, *Bull., cit.*, XXIII., p. 81 et seq. Orsi, *passim*.

Italy of this culture took place by three routes, the sea, the Danube, and over the Alps. And this explains the later expansion of the culture of Hallstadt to Watsch, Bosnia and Herzegovina and into that extended zone which I have elsewhere described.¹ For the variations which are found it is necessary to find another cause, namely, the regional conditions in which the products were imitated, and hence varied with the greater liberty of the artist.

If we transport ourselves to the Iberian peninsula, we find the now celebrated discoveries at the southeast of Spain, which have revealed a rich and wonderful culture. There also may be found the Mycenæan culture along with the regional productions.² From this fact we derive the idea that the Oriental importation was like a movement which aroused a latent activity, and hence on account of the favorable geological conditions of the peninsula rich in metals, artistic production was easily raised to a higher level than that of Sicily, which was poor in metals. Nor is it out of place to suppose with Orsi that many Iberian products may have come into the island, and that there may have been besides the direct Mycenæan influence, an Iberian influence which was the Mycenæan on its way back, but made over and reformed.³

But after the strange suppositions of Reinach, there is felt the need of a master hand like that of Montelius to delineate the movement of the southern Oriental culture toward the west and the north of Europe. By the examination of the articles of copper and bronze, and in part also of those of ceramic, Montelius came to the conclusion that the use of these two metals, one in the pure state, the other as an alloy with tin, came into central and northern Europe from the Mediterranean region. Here are his words: "In the countries which lie at the south of the northern region, as also in western Europe, there are found much copper and tin. In these two districts the influence of the Oriental culture was more ancient than in the north, and on account of this influence they learned the

¹ *The Monist*, Jan. 1898, "The Aryans and the Ancient Italians."

² Siret, *Les premiers âges du métal dans le sud-est de l'Espagne*. Anvers, 1887.

³ *Bull. Paletn. Italiana*, XXIV., 1898, p. 200.

use of metal, which use was discovered in the Orient. The northern region during the age of stone had some relations with the Orient by means of the people to the south and west.

By two routes, then, the elements of Oriental culture came to the north. One of these which I have called the Occidental, follows the northern coast of Africa to Spain, thence along France and the British Islands until it arrives at the coast of the North Sea in Germany and Scandinavia. The other, which I have called the southern, penetrating the Balkan peninsula or passing by the coast of the Adriatic Sea, then through the valley of the Danube and continuing along the German rivers, especially the Rhine and the Elbe, finally reaches the coasts of the North and the Oriental Sea.¹

After a series of comparisons and proofs drawn from the articles found, Montelius concludes thus: "All this proves that very soon an influence from the Oriental Mediterranean region, including Cyprus, was exercised, whence the peoples of the Balkan and the valley of the Danube, derived a knowledge of the metals." And he insists even in admitting it, as he had already admitted many years before, that bronze may have come to the north from the Mediterranean culture but not from the Phœnician, nor could it have been imported by the Celts or the Germans.² I believe, then, that Italy must have been the center of diffusion of bronze products, but at the same time there may have been many local forms as regional products, of which, however, the type may have been derived from Italy.³

From all this that Montelius presents us, and which fits in perfectly with my conclusions expressed on various occasions concerning the origin of the Mediterranean civilisation and its diffusion, it results that there was a movement of culture which appears to have been carried from one place to another like a torch; in some places,

¹ "Die Chronologie der ältesten Bronzezeit in Norddeutschland und Skandinavien." *Archiv für Anthropologie*. XXVI., 1899, p. 456.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 480, 489.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 506, 509.

however, it seems like the movement of a wave proceeding from a center, enlarging its circumference but diminishing its height until it finally expends itself, leaving indications of its movements. So the Mediterranean culture appears after the primitive Afro-Mediterranean, which also in certain parts had more or less definite centers of diffusion. But the culture which we may call the culture of the metals, especially of bronze, was born in the Orient, moved toward the Occidental Mediterranean regions, and pushed along toward continental Europe by various currents at the south and at the north until it reached the British Islands on the one side, Germany and Scandinavia on the other, and finally central Russia.

But if the forms of the Mediterranean culture gradually disappeared along the routes of diffusion, there happened another very important phenomenon. New centers of production were formed, especially where the conditions were favorable, and hence regional products which were in whole or in part unlike the original models, even in technique. This phenomenon has caused us sometimes to lose trace of the origins of European culture.

Now there arises finally the question: Has the bronze culture any relation with the people called Aryan? Is it one of their importations? In spite of the fact that for some time I have attempted against prevailing opinion to show that the Aryan invaders of Europe were barbarian and savage, and had a culture inferior to the Neolithic,¹ I have admitted that they were the importers of bronze. This idea appeared to me to be true because bronze appears principally in Europe as contemporaneous with the Aryan invasion. Not being an archæologist I had not been able to examine the forms of the articles as has since been done by more competent men, and seeing that the distribution of bronze in Europe corresponded with the distribution of the Aryan culture, especially of tombs for incineration, I was induced to think that the one fact was united with the other as a manifestation of the same stock.

But the new analyses and the new facts in regard to Mediterranean diffusion set forth in the works of Ohnefalsch-Richter, of

¹ *The Monist*, cit., "The Aryans and Ancient Italians."

Myres, of Montelius, and others; the characters of the Mycenæan culture, which is the culture of the bronze age, now better known than before, coming from the Asiatic Orient, and the diffusion of this Mycenæan culture in Europe by the movement above described, together with the formation of new centers of production caused by the propagation of the Oriental Mediterranean culture, have led me naturally to the conclusion that the Aryans were not the importers of bronze into Europe, as was believed, and as is believed even now.

A coincidence which reconciles the common diffusion of the metallic arts already noted in the eastern part of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean region, led us to suppose a causal connexion between them, as did also the thought that the origin of the two great and later Mediterranean civilisations, the Greek and the Latin, were due to the Aryan. Certainly the Aryans availed themselves of the metals which came to them from the civilisation which they were afterwards to submerge with their invasion of barbarism. But they did not contribute in developing the technique, unable as they were to practice new arts. This technique came to them always from the Mediterranean regions.

I know how much opposition this conclusion will meet with from those who are crystallised in the old ideas, born of the impressions made by primitive researches. But I am not dismayed. The future will better illuminate the darkened truth.

To complete the argument in favor of the thesis that the culture of the Eurafricans in Africa and in Europe was prior to any Asiatic invasion whatever, like that already signalised and which marked a new era in Europe, it remains for me to say something of the linear alphabetiform script.

For a long time the alphabetiform characters of Libya and of the Canaries have been known principally through the works of Faidherbe, but there has not been given to them an interpretation like that which now presents itself after the recent discoveries of prehistoric Egypt and those anterior to the Neolithic age of Europe. Letourneau in 1893 first communicated to the Anthropological Society of Paris some observations upon the alphabetiform

characters of the Megalithic inscriptions, and showed how many of these characters bore a likeness to physical characters. He pointed out the anteriority of the Megalithic characters to the Phœnician, and indicated that the constructors of the so-called Megalithic monuments had come from the south, and had learned from the races of north Africa¹ (Fig. 2).

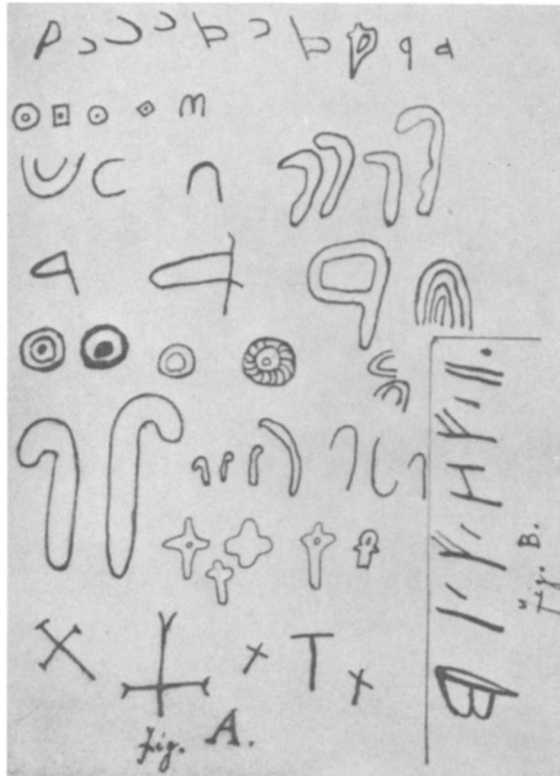


Fig. 2.
Alphabetiform Characters of the Dolmens.

But a more curious discovery was made by Piette in the most ancient epoch of the period of the dolmens and anterior to the Neolithic, that is, toward the end of the Madelene epoch, in a period of transition between Paleolithic and Neolithic Europe. He

¹ *Bulletins Société Anthropologique de Paris*, 1893.

discovered at Mas-d'-Azil in the southeast of France, in a cave, many flints colored with the peroxide of iron and with alphabeti-form characters (Fig. 3), some of them similar to those already found carved in the dolmens. Piette shows that the new graphic characters of Mas-d'-Azil are identical with the Cyprian alphabet,

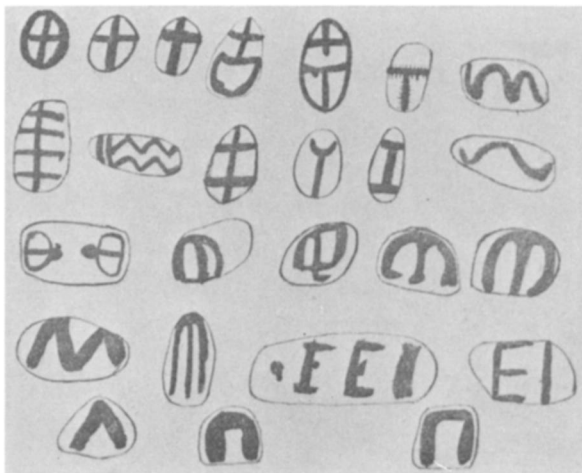


Fig. 3.
Characters on the Colored Flints of Mas-d'-Azil.

and that eight Asilian characters, of which some are Cyprian, form a part of the Ægean alphabet. Even many of the ancient inscrip-

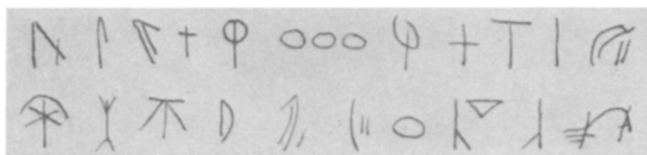


Fig. 4.
Alphabetiform Characters on Terra-cotta Vases of Prehistoric Egypt (De Morgan).

tions of Asia Minor, especially of the Troad, present characters like the pictures of Mas-d'-Azil.¹

The discoveries of Flinders Petrie, of De Morgan and others have revealed a prehistoric script in Egypt, not the hieroglyphics,

¹ *Études d'Éthnologie pré-historique. Les Gulets coloriés du Mas-d'-Azil. L'Anthropologie*, VII., 1896.

and peculiar to the Pharaonic civilisation. This script in the characters which compose it is of the same type as that already found on the engraved stones in the dolmens and on the colored flints of Mas-d'-Azil (Fig. 4).

In an interesting study Arthur Evans had demonstrated the existence of a script in the Mediterranean region, first at Crete and then in other localities of the Ægean region, anterior to the so-called Phœnician script, or that known as Phœnician. In another more recent work the ingenious author has shown a convergence of the Cretan and the Ægean script with the prehistoric Egyptian or Proto-Egyptian or Egypto-Libyan, as he calls it.¹ But Evans does not stop here in his comparison. Convinced that the prehistoric Egyptians were Libyan, and therefore of the same stock which populated Africa and the west of Egypt, he

The table is a grid comparing characters from four different scripts: Cretan and Ægean, Egypto-Libyan or Proto-Egyptian, and Libyan inscriptions and Tifinagh. The grid is organized into rows and columns, with each cell containing a character from one of the scripts. The characters are arranged in a way that shows their similarities and differences. The table is divided into two main sections: the top section contains 12 rows of characters, and the bottom section contains 12 rows of characters. The bottom section is labeled 'TABLE IV' and includes a legend for the letters in brackets.

| CRETAN AND ÆGEAN | EGYPTO-LIBYAN OR PROTO-EGYPTIAN | LIBYAN INSCRIPTIONS AND TIFINAGH | CRETAN AND ÆGEAN | EGYPTO-LIBYAN OR PROTO-EGYPTIAN | LIBYAN INSCRIPTIONS AND TIFINAGH |
|------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | 1. | | 13. | 13. | 13. |
| 2. | 2. | 2. | 14. | 14. | 14. |
| 3. | 3. | | 15. | 15. | 15. |
| 4. | 4. | 4. | 16. | 16. | 16. |
| 5. | 5. | | 17. | 17. | 17. |
| 6. | 6. | 6. | 18. | 18. | 18. |
| 7. | 7. | | 19. | 19. | 19. |
| 8. | 8. | 8. | 20. | 20. | 20. |
| 9. | 9. | | 21. | 21. | 21. |
| 10. | 10. | 10. | 22. | 22. | 22. |
| 11. | 11. | | 23. | 23. | 23. |
| 12. | 12. | 12. | 24. | 24. | 24. |

TABLE IV
N = NAQADA
AB = ABYDOS
K = KAHUN
CUR = CURDS

THE LETTERS IN BRACKETS GIVE THE MEANING OF THE LIBYAN AND EGYPTIAN LETTERS (GIVEN IN THE ORIGINAL)

Fig. 5.

Comparative Table of Pre-Phœnician Characters. (Evans.)

shows convergence of the Ægean script and the Proto-Egyptian with that of the ancient Libyan inscriptions which contain the well-known Libyan alphabet (Fig. 5). There is an analogous re-

¹ "Primitive Pictographs and a Pre-Phœnician Script from Crete." *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1896, Vol. XIV. Further discoveries of Cretan and Ægean script with Libyan and Proto-Egyptian comparisons, the *Journal*, *cit.*, 1897, VI. and VII.

sult as to the alphabet of the Canaries which is also held to be Libyan.

But we may extend Evans's comparison further, which is limited to the Mediterranean region and to Africa, and apply it to the characters of Mas-d'-Azil and of the European dolmens. We find, in fact, characters perfectly identical to them in the ivory tablets of Egypt (Fig. 6) and also in the Megalithic inscriptions (Fig. 2) and on some of the flints of Mas-d'-Azil (Fig. 3).

Hence the use of characters for writing is very ancient in the Eurafian species, so ancient in fact that they have already definite forms in the Magdalenian epoch, an epoch anterior to the Neolithic age. And the diffusion of these alphabetiform characters into the regions where the species itself was disseminated, and therefore into Africa or the Canaries, the Mediterranean regions of

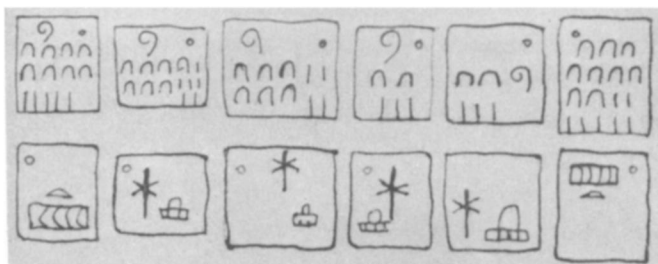


Fig. 6.

Characters Engraved on Ivory Tablets of Prehistoric Egypt.

western and northern Europe, and wherever the dolmens are found, is also very ancient. This fact shows, what I have heretofore attempted to maintain on various occasions, that this human species had its highest development of civilisation in the basin of the Mediterranean, and in its various divisions which assume different ethnical names in proto-historic and historic times. And it is found at a higher level of civilisation at the time of the invasion of the Asiatic immigrations, which submerged the civilisation and reduced the primitive inhabitants to barbarism until new germs of civilisation were born in the Mediterranean region and developed into the two great forms of Greek and Latin culture.